On the distribution of adjectives in Romanian: the *cel* construction

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Abstract
This paper deals with the variable position of adjectives in the Romanian DP. As all other Romance languages, Romanian allows for adjectives to appear in both prenominal and post-nominal position. In addition, however, Romanian has a third pattern: the so-called *cel* construction, in which the adjective in the post-nominal position is preceded by a determiner-like element, *cel*. This pattern is superficially similar to Determiner Spreading in Greek. In this paper we contrast the *cel* construction to Greek DS and discuss the similarities and differences between the two. We then present an analysis of *cel* as involving an appositive specification clause, building on de Vries (2002). We argue that the same structure is also involved in the context of nominal ellipsis, the second environment in which *cel* is found.

1. Introduction: adjectival modification and *cel*

As is well known, a general characteristic of Romance languages is that in cases of ambiguous adjectives, pre-nominal placement of adjectives correlates with strictly unambiguous interpretation, while post-nominal placement correlates with ambiguity (Cinque 2005). This is illustrated below with a Romanian example with respect to the ambiguity between the restrictive vs. non-restrictive interpretation of adjectives. In (1a) the post-nominal adjective is ambiguous between a restrictive and a non-restrictive interpretation, while in (1b) the pre-nominal adjective is unambiguously interpreted as non-restrictive.

(1) a. Legile *importante* n-au fost votate (Romanian) laws-the important were not passed
"The laws which were important were not passed."

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1 We would like to thank the participants of Going Romance Conference in December 2007 in Amsterdam for their questions. Special thanks to two anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions. Our research was supported by a DFG grant to the project C1: *The syntax of nominal modification and its interaction with nominal structure*, as part of the Collaborative Research Center 732 *Incremental Specification in Context* at the Universität Stuttgart.
b. Importantele legi n-au fost votate
   Important-the laws not have been passed
   “Important laws were not passed.”
   1. all of them were important
   2. The laws which were important were not passed

As Cinque argues in detail, in this respect English and Romance are mirror images of one another, since in English it is the pre-nominal position which is ambiguous between the two interpretations, while the post-nominal one is interpreted as strictly restrictive.

(2) a. All of his unsuitable acts were condemned
b. All of his acts were condemned; they were unsuitable
c. All of his acts that were unsuitable were condemned

(3) a. Every word unsuitable was deleted
b. Every word was deleted; they were unsuitable
c. Every word that was unsuitable was deleted

In addition to (1), Romanian has a third pattern, illustrated in (4), where the demonstrative article cel follows the definite noun and precedes the adjective in post-nominal position (see also Coene 1994, Cornilescu 1992, Cinque 2004). The word order in (4) is strict, i.e. no re-arrangement of the elements (i.e. the DP and the cel+Adjective sequence) is permitted:

(4) Legile (cele) importante n-au fost votate.
   Laws-the cel important have not been voted.

As (4) contains multiple determiners, it seems superficially similar to Greek Definiteness Spreading (DS) (see (5b) Androutsopoulou 1995, Alexiadou & Wilder 1998 and many others). The behaviour of the adjectives in Greek is similar to that of the English ones in (2)-(3) above. In (5a) the adjective is ambiguous between a restrictive and a non-restrictive interpretation. In (5b), where the post-nominal adjective is obligatorily preceded by a determiner, it is unambiguously interpreted as restrictive.

(5) a. i simandiki nomi
   “the important laws”
b. i nomi (afti) i simandiki
   “the laws that the important”

Unlike (1a), however, the adjective in (4) is not ambiguous: it is interpreted as restrictive, although it is found in post-nominal position. In this respect
(4) is again similar to DS in Greek. As just mentioned, DS also only involves a restrictive interpretation of the adjective (and see Alexiadou 2001, Kolliakou 2004 and others for further discussion).

We believe that the cel construction in Romanian represents the key element for understanding the syntax-semantics interface of post-nominal adjectives in Romance languages. Therefore, in this paper we focus on the nature and distribution of cel by comparing this pattern with both Greek DS and post-nominal adjectives in Romance languages.

After introducing the distribution of cel, we compare the cel construction to Greek DS. We show that in spite of certain similarities between the two constructions, several differences exist, the main one being that cel has the status of a maximal projection. We then analyse cel strings as an appositive relative clauses with a specification function, building on de Vries (2002), (cf. Cinque 2004). The proposed analysis, departing from Kayne’s analysis of adjectives as involving reduced relative clauses, explains the differences between the cel construction and DS and argues that the same structure is also involved in the context of nominal ellipsis, the second environment in which cel is found.

2. Descriptive facts about “cel” in Romanian
2.1 Historical development

Historically, cel is derived from the Latin distal demonstrative ille preceded by the demonstrative adverb ecce. A number of phonological changes led to the present-day form:

(6) a. Cl.Lat. ecce-illum>Late Lat. eccíllum > eccéllum >16th cent. þelu >Mod. Rom. Cel (masc., sg.)

In Modern Romanian all forms contain an invariant ce and an -l morpheme which shows inflexion for gender, number and case and which is similar to the definite suffixal article –l (Coene, 1994). This is shown in the two tables below:

Table 1: the cel paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>cel</td>
<td>cea</td>
<td>cel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G/D</td>
<td>celui</td>
<td>cei</td>
<td>celui</td>
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<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>cei</td>
<td>cele</td>
<td>cele</td>
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<td></td>
<td>G/D</td>
<td>celor</td>
<td>celor</td>
<td>celor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: The definite article

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Băiat-ul</td>
<td>Fat-a</td>
<td>Tablo-ul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G/D</td>
<td>Băiatu-lui</td>
<td>Fete-i</td>
<td>Tablou-lui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Băieți-i</td>
<td>Fete-le</td>
<td>Tablouri-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G/D</td>
<td>Băieți-lor</td>
<td>Fete-lor</td>
<td>Tablouri-lor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 The distribution of “cel” in Romanian

There are two main environments in which cel is found in Romanian: following a lexically expressed noun and in the absence of a lexically expressed noun. In both cases, it can precede adjectives, cardinals PPs, and superlatives. The former environment is restricted by two conditions. First, cel is an optional element. Second, the noun obligatorily takes a suffixal definite article when it precedes the cel. This means that cel cannot occur in indefinite NPs (7b), in NPs with preposed demonstratives (7c), in front of the noun without an article (7d), but it is fine in NPs with post-posed possessives (preceded by N + suffixal definite article, (7e)):

(7) a. băiatul (cel) frumos
    boy-the cel beautiful
    “the boy cel nice”

b. *un om cel râu
    a man cel bad

c. *acest om cel râu
    this man cel bad

d. *cel râu om
    cel bad man

e. fiul meu cel mic
    “son-the my  cel younger”

The latter environment, all elements preceded by cel agree in phi-features (gender, number, case) with it, an has been described as a case of nominal ellipsis.²

² Both our anonymous reviewers point out that cel can precede cardinals as well, suggesting that it has a head status. see (ib). Note that (ib) differs in interpretation from (ia):

(i) a. Am vazut trei băieți.
    (I) have seen tree boys.
    “I randomly saw three boy, I don’t know who they are. ”

b. I-am vazut pe cei trei băieți.
    Clitic-have seen PE cel three boys
    “I saw those three boys, you know whom I am talking about. ”
Does the *cel* construction involve DS? If so, *cel* should be analysed as a kind of determiner. In principle, such an analysis does not contradict the historical development of *cel*, described in section 2.1. The development of definite articles out of demonstratives is a common path of grammaticalization (see Coene 1994, Giusti 2002). In the next sections we turn to a comparison of the two constructions.

### 3. Similarities between the *cel* construction and Greek DS

To begin with, the *cel* pattern, like Greek DS, does not give rise to adjectival ambiguity. We saw in (4) that no ambiguity is present in the *cel* construction. In (9) we provide the further examples for Greek DS. As Kolliakou (2004) discusses in detail, (9a) is ambiguous between two First, (ib) has a restrictive interpretation and triggers the presupposition that the hearer knows about whom the speakers talks. Second, the presence of *cel* in (ib) is associated with the presence of transitive marker *pe* and clitic-doubling which reinforce the specific interpretation of the construction. The problem, however, is why *cel* can precede the cardinal in the presence of the noun, but not an adjective. Vulchanova & Giusti (1998: 338) note that this is also the pattern we find with the demonstrative in Romanian:

(iii) *aceste două femei frumoase*

these two women beautiful

Marchis (2007) argued that *cel* is inserted in Spec,DP in such cases to check definiteness, as the numeral itself cannot check this feature. We leave a full description and explanation of the distribution of numerals and demonstratives in Romanian for further research.

As an anonymous reviewer correctly points out, the distribution of *cel* in the context of ellipsis is considerably more extended. The arguments of a head are excluded in the post-nominal construction, but are ok in ellipsis:

(i)  a. *dependența de părinți si apoi, cea de droguri.*

dependence-the of partents, and then *cel* of drugs

b. *dependența cea de părinți*

dependence-the *cel* of parents

If we are right in analysing *cel* as part of a reduced relative clause, we can account for the ungrammaticality of (ib) as a reduced relative clause cannot intervene between the head and its complement. The grammaticality of (ia) is also covered by our analysis, as here *cel* behaves similarly to the demonstrative pronoun:

(iii) *copiii fară părinți si cei/aceia cu unul sigur*

children without parents and *cel/those* with a sole one

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Readings: on reading 1, only the efficient researchers will be fired; on reading 2, the efficient researchers happen to be part of the larger group that will be fired. Crucially, (9b) is not ambiguous, it only has reading 1:4

\[
(9) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \quad o \ \text{diefthin} \text{dis ipe oti i kali erevnites tha} \\
& \quad \text{the director said that the efficient researchers will} \\
& \quad \text{apolithun} \\
& \quad \text{be fired} \\
\text{b. } & \quad o \ \text{diefthin} \text{dis ipe oti i kali i erevnites tha} \\
& \quad \text{the director said that the efficient the researchers will} \\
& \quad \text{apolithun} \\
& \quad \text{be fired}
\end{align*}
\]

Consider next the stage level vs. individual level ambiguity. As discussed in Cinque (2005), in Romance the prenominal adjective has an exclusive individual interpretation, while the post-nominal adjective is ambiguous between an individual and stage reading (10a-b). In English, on the contrary, it is the post-nominal position in which the adjective is unambiguously interpreted as stage level. Importantly, in the cel construction the adjective has only the stage level reading, much like the post-nominal adjective in Greek DS (10b)-(11b). In the prenominal position the adjective is ambiguous in Greek, similar to its English counterpart (see Campos & Stavrou 2004, Alexiadou 2006):5

4 Our claim was that in Romanian (4) is not ambiguous. As Coene (1994) discusses in detail, adjectives that are exclusively non-restrictive can never be combined with cel. However, as correctly pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, there are occurrences of cel with proper names and adjectives expressing characterizing properties, which are not restrictive:

(i) Radu cel Frumos
Radu cel handsome
(ii) Admiram iarba cee verde
I admired grass cel green

Followind Radatz (2001), we take (i) and (ii) to involve lexicalizations of a synthetic construction, hence they constitute a case which does not affect our main argument. Note that patterns like the one in (i) can also be found in language like English e.g. *Alexander the Great*. We leave a full investigation of these constructions for further research.

5 As an anonymous reviewer points out, a different pattern is found in the case of participles. Here it is the participle with the habitual interpretation that is favored, and not the one with the episodic interpretation:

(i) a. ??cartea cee caii aseara
book.the cel read last night
b. cartea cee mult caii
book.the cel much read
(10)  
The stars, which are generally bright, are very far away.

b.  *Stelele cele vizibile sunt foarte îndepărtate.
The stars which are now visible are far away.

(11)  
a.  *ta orata asteria ine poli makria
the visible stars are far away
1.  stars which are generally visible, are very far
2.  stars, which happen to be visible now, are very far

b.  *ta asteria ta orata ine poli makria
the visible the stars are very far
1.  #stars, which are generally visible, are very far
2.  stars, which happen to be visible now, are very far

Second, both constructions are similar in that they imply a contrast and are organized around the presupposition/focus distinction; the article-noun sequence constitutes the context or presupposition and the articulated adjective constitutes the focus. This is shown in (12a-b) for Greek, see Kolliakou (2004), Campos & Stravou (2004) and in (12c-d) for Romanian. Note that in both languages the Det+N sequence can be omitted (a case of noun ellipsis); in Romanian when the noun is overt, pe is impossible:

(12)  
a.  *pia pena- ti hrisi i tin asimenia?  (Greek)
which pen- the golden or the silver

b.  *nomizo tin asimenia (tin pena)
I think the silver the pen

c.  Pe care stilou l-ai cumparat,  (Romanian)
On which pe Clitic-have you bought,
*pe cel argintiu sau pe cel auriu?
the silver one or the golden one?

d.  *Cred ca pe cel argintiu.
I think that pe silver.

Thirdly, both constructions are illicit with non-intersective adjectives such as former (as known, these occur strictly pre-nominally in Romance):

(13)  
a.  *presedinte-le cel fost  (Romanian)
President-the cel last

The data point to the fact that more needs to be said about the type of participle involved (eventive) and the reasons why cel can never combine with an eventive participle. The discussion will lead us too far afield, so we leave it for further research.
b. *O  monos tu o  erotas ine i  dulja tu. (Greek)
The only his the love is the work his
“His only love is his work.”

All of the above suggests that the two constructions should be
analysed on a par. Though several analyses of the DS pattern exist in the
literature, we briefly focus here on the one put forth in Alexiadou & Wilder
(1998), building on Kayne (1994). On this analysis, adjectives are generated
as predicates within a reduced relative clause, and various movement
operations guarantee the surface orders that are available in Greek (14):

(14) a. [DP D [CP [IP DP AP]]]°
the the book red
b. [DP D [CP AP [IP DP t ]] ] ’
the red the book
c. [DP the book D [CP AP [IP t t ]]]
the red

According to Alexiadou & Wilder (1998), DS is a sub-case of indirect
modification (Sproat & Shih 1988) and hence involves a relative clause
analysis, see also recent work by Cinque (2005).7 But can this analysis be
used for Romanian cel? (see Cinque 2004 for a proposal along these lines,
where he claims that cel is a realization of indirect modification). While
most researchers (Cornilescu 2005, Campos 2005) agree that the cel pattern
marks predicative adjectives in Romanian, it is not clear that cel has the
same status as the definite determiner in Greek.

For instance, Cornilescu (2005: 9) analyses cel as a Pred head which

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6 As the extra determiner in DS does not introduce new reference, Alexiadou (2006) argues
that extra determiners in DS are familiarity markers, much like the cases of object clitic
doubling, which involves familiar definite NPs only, see Anagnostopoulou (1994):

(i) DP1(familiarity/presupposition)[CP...[IPDP2/DefP(definite)]]

7 Actually, Alexiadou & Wilder (1998) note that DS cuts across indirect and direct
modification. Like the former it involves predicative adjectives, but like the latter it is
subject to ordering restrictions.

On syntactic analyses such as Alexiadou & Wilder's and Cinque's, a relative clause
is involved only in indirect modification. For cases of direct modification, e.g. the former
president, a different structure is needed, one in which the adjective is closer to the head
noun, see the discussion in the aforementioned papers.

On double source analyses of adjectives, the ambiguity found in (1a) is because in
the post-nominal position, the adjective can have both structural base generated positions,
i.e. both a reduced relative clause source and a direct modifier source. Movements of
certain parts of the structure ensure the surface word order.
selects a non-verbal phrase XP and marks it as a predicate. On this view, *cel* is a functional element which spells out a (+def) feature just like the definite article in Romanian. On this analysis, *cel* selects a non-verbal head and marks it as a predicate.\(^8\)

Obviously, if *cel* is a head in the spirit of Cornilescu (2005), Campos (2005) and Campos and Stavrou (2004), then the constructions with optional post-nominal *cel* represent instances of DS. However, a number of properties suggest that the *cel* construction is not a case of DS, as it involves an XP.

### 4. Differences between DS and the *cel* construction

Firstly, unlike Greek DS, the presence of *cel* is not obligatory, when the adjective occurs in post-nominal position. When it is present, however, a semantic effect arises, described in section 1.

\[(15) \begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{fluture-le (cel) frumos} \\
& \quad \text{butterfly-the cel beautiful} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{to vivlio *(to) megalo} \\
& \quad \text{the book the big}
\end{align*}\]

This is unexpected, as the definite article is not an optional element. Furthermore, the fact that the *cel* construction has different semantics from the post-nominal position of adjectives in Romanian casts doubts on a possible analysis of the two patterns as involving similar structures. In this respect, *cel* resembles the optional demonstrative pronoun in DS in Greek which, like *cel*, has a different form from the demonstrative deictic pronoun.

\[(16) \begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad i \text{ pena } (\text{afti}) i \text{ asimenia} \quad \text{ (Greek)} \\
& \quad \text{the pen this the silver} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{afto to vivlio} \\
& \quad \text{this the book} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{fluturele cel frumos} \quad \text{ (Romanian)} \\
& \quad \text{Butterfly-the cel nice} \\
\text{d.} & \quad \text{fluturele acela} \\
& \quad \text{butterfly-the that}
\end{align*}\]

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\(^8\) A similar proposal is given in Campos (2005) who regards *cel* as a pseudo-article spelled out as a last resort operation in order to check phi-features and EPP.
Secondly, only one *cel* can appear per DP; the definite determiner in DS can have multiple occurrences, if a further adjective is present:

(17) a. fluturele cel frumos, *(cel) colorat si *(cel) zglobiu
   butterfly-the cel beautiful, colourful and lively
   “the beautiful, coloured and lively, butterfly”

b. i petaluda i orea i polihromi
   the butterfly the beautiful the colourful

Thirdly, *cel* does not only precede adjectives but also PPs or other modifiers; this is not possible for Modern Greek DS, though such orders were possible in Classical Greek (18b-c):

(18) a. casa cea de piatrâ
   house.the cel of stone

b. *to spiti to apo petra
   the house the from stone

c. oi anthropoi oi para sou (Classical Greek)
   the people the near you

Fourthly, as already mentioned, the word order is strict, *cel* always follows the definite noun. Greek DS, however, permits word order permutations:

(19) a. to vivlio to kokino
   the book the red

b. to kokino to vivlio
   the red the book

Finally, *cel* behaves like the demonstrative *acest*, in that it is able to have a deictic/anaphoric interpretation. According to Giusti (1994, 2002), the enclitic definite article in Romanian is a mere functional category with no semantic content. Giusti (2002) argues that D, the locus for the enclitic definite article, is instantiated for syntactic reasons whereas the specifier of the DP is occupied by the demonstrative which has a semantic value. This property is triggered only by those categories in Spec,DP and is crucial for the interpretation of the referential index of the noun phrase:

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*As an anonymous reviewer notes, the fact that in Classical Greek articles could introduce PPs brings these constructions closer to the *cel* patterns, and suggests that the definite article in Greek has undergone a full change, while *cel* is in a case of transition.*
(20)  a. Directorul de departament și președintele de facultate a venit/au venit.
    Director-the of department and president-the of faculty has come/have come.

b. Acest director de departament și acel președinte de facultate au venit.
    This director of department and that president of faculty have come.

The examples in (20) show that the double definiteness within the nominal phrase does not necessarily lead to two referents, the construction is ambiguous between one and the same referent and two different individuals.

Unlike the definite article, the demonstrative in Romanian triggers not only reference but also deictic interpretation. The complementary distribution between the definite article and the demonstrative can be explained by Giusti’s (2002) doubly-filled DP Filter. Importantly, cel shows the same syntactic and interpretive effects like the demonstrative from which it originates:

(21)  fluturele cel albastru și cel roz au zburat
    Butterfly-the cel blue and cel pink have flown.

Unlike the definite article, cel introduces reference to the nominal phrase and apart from that it triggers also a restrictive meaning. As a result, the behaviour of cel is very unlike Greek DS where the presence of multiple determiners does not create independent reference.

The general consensus in the literature is that demonstrative elements are XPs located in Spec,DP, they are relevant for the interpretation of the referential index of the noun phrase. This would mean that cel is also an XP element. We thus conclude that the cel construction is very unlike Greek DS.

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10 ‘Once SpecDP contains a functional projection satisfies the requirements on the DP, D’ need not, and therefore cannot be lexically filled’ (from Giusti 2002).
11 The complementary distribution between the definite article and the demonstrative can be explained by Giusti’s (2002) doubly-filled DP Filter.
12 See Dobrovie-Sorin (2000:4) who argues that cel is a maximal projection in Spec,DP.
13 Dobrovie (1987) proposes that cel is a phrasal element, pretty much like French celui. The context of cel is larger than that of celui. See the appendix for discussion.
5. The analysis of the cel construction

As already mentioned both in the presence of a noun (7) and in the context of ellipsis (8), *cel* can occur only with predicative/intersective adjectives. Our analysis must capture this behaviour. If the source of predicative adjectives is within a relative clause structure, then such a structure should also be present in the *cel* construction and be involved in both environments where *cel* appears.

But we have shown that the *cel*-construction differs from DS in important respects. Moreover, the *cel*-construction cannot be analysed on the basis of the structure proposed in e.g. Cinque (2005) for the restrictive reading of post-nominal adjectives, which is again a reduced relative clause with the adjective in predicative position, though generated in prenominal position. In this case the noun would have to move over the relative clause in order to combine with the (suffixed) article. Importantly recall that *cel* accepts only one adjective, while in the other two constructions, DS and post-nominal adjectives in Romance, we can have more than one adjective. Hence we cannot make use of base structures of this kind.

Recall further that *cel* is available with all kinds of modifiers, adjective as well as PPs (18, Cornilescu 2005). This behaviour in connection to its XP status constitutes important clues in understanding the role of *cel*. We believe that *cel* introduces a reduced relative clause, which has a specifying function, rendered in English via the use of e.g. the adverb *namely* in (22):

(22) the horse, namely the beautiful one

In other words, the *cel* construction is an appositive specification clause, in the form of a reduced relative clause. The analysis of *cel* as introducing a relative clause is supported by the fact that it can generally be found in relative clauses (23):

(i) a. băiatul acela n-a mai venit, pe care l-a invitat Maria

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14 The analysis proposed here differs from the one presented during the conference, where we attempted to make use of Kaynes's analysis of *celui* for *cel*. In the appendix, we discuss some differences and similarities between *cel* and *celui*.

15 Lekakou & Szendroi (2007) analyse DS as a form of apposition, which crucially involves adjunction. We argue here that DS involves restrictive clause modification, while the *cel* construction involves a specification clause.

16 Note that the demonstrative *acest* can so as well. An anonymous reviewer suggests that one should be more cautious with this comparison between *cel* and *acest*. Indeed more needs to be said about that; our claim is that they are alike in that *cel* is an XP. The reviewer further points out that e.g. in the context of relative clause extraposition, only the demonstrative can extrapose, but not *cel*:
(23) *băiatul cel care a plecat
boy-the ce who left

In (23) *cel introduces the relative clause. In the typological literature it is also widely known, that demonstratives, as *cel originated, have grammaticalized as subordinate, including relative, complementizers in a number of language groupings around the world, including Germanic.

Building on the above, we claim that *cel clauses are appositive specification relative clauses. Discussion of the syntax of such clauses is found in de Vries (2002), upon which we build here. As de Vries (2002: 211ff.) discusses in detail, restrictive appositions do not only involve adjectives, but can also include PPs. In his analysis, appositive relatives involve specifying co-ordination. Semantically, in such a clause the second element specifies the first, and necessarily the second is a logical subset of the first element. The semantics crucially involve set intersection, giving thus the restrictions on the adjectives presented here. In addition this structure explains the fact that the adjective is never ambiguous, it is always generated in the predicative position of the relative clause. It also explains why it cannot be iterated, since the NP can receive only one specification. The relevant structure is as in (24).

(24) \[ [\&:P \ [XP \ ] &:: \ [DP \ [CP \ [C' \ [IP \ ]]]]] \]

As in the languages de Vries discusses, and in the case of Romanian, a relative clause must be introduced by a relative element, we propose that *cel is this element. On the basis of structure (24), there are two options for *cel, either it is located in Spec,CP in a state of reanalysis from a demonstrative pronoun to a relative marker, see also the references in de Vries (2002), or it is placed in Spec, DP (cf. Cornilesescu's claim that *cel is a predicative head). This analysis is faith-ful to the fact that *cel is a complex phrasal determiner (pronoun-determiner) which contains an invariant form ce and a morpheme similar to the suffixal definite article (section 2.1). We come back to that in the following paragraphs.

If we are right in analysis *cel clauses as appositive clauses with a specification function, this explains the strict word order associated with the

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boy-the that not has more come, PE whom Cl-has invited Mary.
b. *băiatul cel n-a venit pe care l-a invitat Maria.

This behavior is predicted by our analysis of *cel as involving an appositive relative clause. As is well known, appositive relative clauses, as opposed to restrictive relative clauses cannot extrapose and need to be immediately adjacent to their anchor. The demonstrative, however, introduces a restrictive relative clause, and hence is subject to extraposition.
pattern as well as the single occurrence of *cel*, and also the differences between the *cel* construction and DS. Since, there can only be one specification, no iteration is allowed. The structure of (25a) is given in (25b).

(25) a. băiatul cel frumos  
   b. [&:P [DP baiatul], &: [DP cel [CP [C' [I P ‡ AP]]]]]

The adjective is generated in the predicative position within the relative clause. The second conjunct is co-indexed with the first one, hence they both agree in all features and have unique reference.

As mentioned above, several options are available for *cel*: it can either be inserted in DP or be moved there from inside the clause. To the extent that it moves via Spec,CP to Spec, DP again either the subject of the small clause is a pronominal zero element co-indexed with *cel* or pronominal *cel* is generated as the subject of the small clause. An anonymous reviewer suggests that there is a way to choose between the different analyses, and provided evidence against a raising analysis of *cel*. This comes from the observation that *cel* agrees in Case with the antecedent. In addition *cel* can co-occur with wh-pronouns in Spec,CP, see (23) and (26) below, suggesting that it is actually external to clause:

(26) a. fiul celui prospăt decorat  
    son.the cel.gen recently decorated  
    “son of the recently decorated person”  
   b. omul cel pe care nimeni nu-l mai iubește  
    man.the cel pe whom nobody loaves any more

We now turn to the presence of *cel* in the context of nominal ellipsis, where it precedes APs. The relevant example is repeated below:

(8) *cel frumos*  
    Cel beautiful  
    “The beautiful one”

As already mentioned, the same restrictions on the adjectives apply to the ellipsis environment, i.e. the adjective has to be an intersective, predicative one. This is illustrated in (27) below:\(^{17}\)

\(^{17}\) An anonymous reviewer points out that ellipsis is more encompassing than the *cel* construction. Note that classifying adjectives are out with *cel*, but occur in the ellipsis case:

(i) a. tragedia clasici\(\overline{a}\)\/*tragedia cea clasici\(\overline{a}\)
(27)  
   a.  *L-am văzut pe președintele cel fost.
   Pro clitic-have seen president-the cel former.
   b.  f. *L-am văzut pe cel fost.
   Pro clitic-have seen cel(masc.) former.

In order to capture these similarities, we propose that (25b) is involved also in the context of ellipsis. This is supported by the fact that the English translation contains the pronoun one in both (25b) and (8), the form English generally uses in ellipsis. When the first conjunct has previously been mentioned in the discourse it can be elided; ellipsis is licensed as the remaining part is informative/contrastive (see section 3).

(28)  [{:P [DP baiatul] _&: [DP cel] [CP [C' [IP _
frumos]]]]]

6. Summary and conclusions

Although the distribution of cel in the presence of an N in Romanian is superficially similar to the phenomenon of DS in Greek, the syntactic differences between DS in Greek and cel in Romanian lead us to the conclusion that cel is not a definite article and, consequently, the optional cel construction is not a case of DS in Romanian.

On our analysis, cel is a complex phrasal determiner (pronom-determiner) which contains an invariant form ce and a morpheme similar to the suffixal definite article. Syntactically, cel is an element located in Spec,DP in a state of reanalysis from a demonstrative pronoun to a relative marker, which introduces an appositive specification clause (see also the references in de Vries (2002)). The proposed analysis, departing from Kayne’s analysis, explains the differences between the cel construction and DS and argues that the same structure is also involved in the context of nominal ellipsis, the second environment in which cel is found.

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tragedy   classic/tragedy cel classic
b. tragedia clasă și (nu) cea romantică
tragedy classic and not cel romantic

According to Bosque & Picallo (1996), classifying as well as thematic adjectives are mapped into SpecNP. We claim that cel is out with relational adjectives as it introduces an appositive specification clause and cannot intervene between thematic modifiers or subcategorized arguments. In (ib) we note that the adjective has a contrastive reading which is expected under our analysis.
References

Appendix: cel and celui

Dobrovie-Sorin (1987) and Cornilescu (2005) discuss certain distributional differences between cel and celui. Importantly, celui cannot be followed by bare adjectives, it can precede present and past participles as well as PPs:

(29) a. *celui + full relative
Celui que tu as lu
the one that you have read
b. *Celui + past participle
Celui envoyé à Jean
the one sent to Jean
c. *Celui + present participle
Ceux parlants quatre langues
Those speaking four languages
d. *Celui + PP
Celui de Jean
that of John
e. *Celui + complement taking AP
ceux contents de leur sort
those happy with their kind
f. *celui + Bare AP
* celui rouge
this red

Kayne (1994: 101) points out that celui is not an N°. Rather it is an XP composed of ce+lui. This is similar to what we said about Romanian cel. But one cannot analyse celui similarly to cel, as (29f) is out.

While we do not have a detailed analysis of the above pattern, we would like to mention here that the bare adjectives in French seem to have a special status. For instance, Ronat (1974, 1977) in her study of noun ellipsis in French makes a distinction between intransitive, i.e. bare, adjectives and transitive ones, i.e. adjectives followed by complements. While the transitive ones are reduced relative clauses, the intransitive ones have a very
different analysis (see also Sleeman 1996 for further discussion). In particular, Sleeman (1996: 55), citing joint work by Sleeman & Verheugd, states that bare adjectives in French can only be attributes within the extended projection of the NP. The ungrammaticality of (29f) is related to the fact that intransitive adjectives cannot appear in predicative position in French reduced relatives. If correct, this raises questions as to the general analysis of bare adjectives in French, as bare adjectives can appear in post-nominal position:

(30)  

le livre jaune
the book yellow

On Kayne's analysis, (30) involves a reduced relative clause. On the basis of the remarks in Sleeman, however, (30) should be rather analysed as involving an adjective within the extended projection of NP, which is the analysis Sleeman herself gives. See also the discussion in Alexiadou & Wilder (1998), who pointed out that adjectives are not always amenable to a reduced relative clause basic construction.